

# The Citizen

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*"There are some who desire to know with the sole purpose that they may know, and it is curiosity: and some who desire to know that they may be known, and it is base ambition: and some who desire to know that they may sell their knowledge for wealth and honor, and it is base avarice: but there are some, also, who desire to know that they may be edified, and it is prudence, and some who desire to know that they may help others, and it is charity."*—S. BERNARD.

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## Life and Education.

THE country is all agog over the political situation; the machines are out of gear; leaders have lost their bearings; prophets are without honor at home or elsewhere. The Republican party, inarticulate except as to "protection," and having in advance selected McKinley as its exponent, met in council at St. Louis, made the gold standard the issue of the campaign, and nominated a candidate whose opinion upon the vital question had not then been declared, although he has since placed himself squarely upon the platform of his party. His nomination was justified by the statement that protection was to be made

the principal issue, a declaration which within ten days became a palpable absurdity. By the action of the Chicago Convention the Democratic party went over to Populism; and the Populists have thrown themselves, more or less, into the arms of the Democrats. Certain Republicans have turned Populists, and there are others who would sacrifice even a little "protection" if assured of the aid of sound money Democrats. On the other hand, there are Democrats ready to vote for McKinley, record and all, if it appears that to do so affords the best prospect of maintaining a stable currency. It is almost certain that the gold Democrats will put a third ticket in the field, an event which would divide both the Democratic and the sound money votes, with what effect upon the final result it is hard to say.

Great as is the confusion of parties, the confusion of ideas is still greater. People talk of the ratio of 16 to 1 often without knowing what the phrase means. Cheap money, which to the banker is money that can be borrowed at low rates, is spoken of hopefully, with cheap used in the sense of costing little, the fact being overlooked that the less money costs the less it will buy. In the banker's sense money will be anything but cheap if we try the experiment of substituting uncoined silver for our \$600,000,000 of coined gold; and we may say, in this connection, that in no year has the United States ever coined more than \$40,000,000 in silver. Everywhere there are grave differences of opinion as to the facts which underlie the whole discussion; but there seems to be a general admission that we have had a period of falling prices—if the price of labor is excepted—due, according to the silver men, to the appreciation of gold on account of its scarcity, according to the gold men, to improved means of production—making cheaper the necessities of life—and to the threat of silver monometalism, which has been the occasion of panics, has impaired the value of securities, alarmed capital, and diminished the natural volume of business. As the

comparison is between gold and commodities, to say that prices of commodities have fallen is to admit that gold has appreciated, but the price of silver has fallen far more than the average price of other commodities. Therefore, to pay debts in silver dollars is unfair and dishonest by the silver men's own reasoning, unless it can be proved that the free coinage of silver will greatly advance its price. The Bryan men say that to pay old debts in gold is to pay more than was borrowed. With a silver dollar worth fifty-three cents to pay in silver is to pay much less than was borrowed. Should free coinage come there is no doubt that other prices will advance, but there is little reason to believe that there will be much change in the value of silver. It is lying in large quantities in foreign banks, which are waiting an opportunity to get rid of it. It is an abundant metal that can be profitably mined in great quantities at a slight advance in price. The silver in a dollar is now worth fifty-three cents; and from all over the world it will pour in upon us if, when we have coined it, it will buy more than fifty-three cents' worth. For three years the United States tried buying 4,500,000 ounces of silver a month, and, as long as the buying continued, the price fell. If there is abstractly any injustice in the gold dollar, the silver dollar is doubly unjust.

It has been the policy and practice of the United States Government, by whatever party administered, to lead the buyers of our bonds to believe that they would be paid in gold. If the word was not used, the obligation to adhere to the understanding is not impaired. Are we so poor that we must avail ourselves of a technicality to shuffle out of our engagements? And who is it besides the silver mine owner, with his obvious interest in selling the national honor, who would profit by national disgrace? There will be no more silver than gold dollars for the pensioner, but he will have to pay nearly twice as many dollars for a suit of clothes. Given free silver, every man, woman, or child who has saved much or little, whether their savings are invested in life insurance, building associations, savings banks mortgages, or any other obligation, will be paid

interest and principal as agreed, but in dollars that probably will buy but little more than half as much as the present dollar. People who work for salaries or wages may or may not be paid more, but they will surely have to spend more for every article they buy. We are told that the men who owe more than is owing to them would have the inestimable privilege of paying their debts, if they paid them at all, in bad dollars. A farmer who in 1890 borrowed two thousand gold dollars, worth possibly a little less than now, is to have an opportunity to pay two thousand silver dollars worth not a little but a great deal less than the dollars he borrowed. Are all the farmers who do not owe money, all the shopkeepers who have given credit, all pensioners, policy holders, savings bank depositors, wage earners, and all hard-working people who have been able to keep out of debt, to be mulcted by a law that will add a third to the price of food, clothing, and shelter, because the debtor farmer wants a chance to dodge full payment? Can even the mine owner and the debt laden farmer think with pleasure of the nation that endured the stress of civil war to emerge stronger, and dignified by a great achievement, as going into voluntary bankruptcy to pay something more than fifty cents on a dollar?

As a matter of convenience we look to newspapers for certain sorts of information, and we acquire the habit of accepting their statements, if often with some misgivings, as on the whole a sufficient basis for opinions. It is only when we see in a journal an account of something concerning which we have special knowledge that we come to a realizing sense of the perhaps necessary limitations of newspaper accuracy. Unfortunately, truth generally lies at the bottom of a well and does not flow from a spigot upon the turning of a cock. The journalist, having so much space to fill and so little time in which to do it, is almost forced to resort to the spigot; and, as only experts are able to distinguish between precise truth and an equally sparkling substitute, the public takes its bacteria in more or less unconsciousness, and the journalist trusts that the effects of different kinds of bacilli may so

far neutralize each other as to prevent serious harm. We are moved to speak feelingly upon this topic by the strange things which we see from time to time in other papers about a subject in regard to which we assert ourselves as specialists. In a report of Mr. Chauncey Depew's speech at the St. Louis convention, it is stated that one of the reasons which he gave why the Republican party should proceed with caution was that this country has lately experienced a campaign of University Extension. We know that as an "organ" we might make a great deal of this quotation, but with a desire to be wisely moderate rather than to "claim everything," we are obliged to say that, while University Extension unquestionably has done good work, we are not able to see that its results constitute a condition with which party leaders have to reckon. We are afraid that "Coin's Financial School" was more powerful in creating political conditions during the past two years than all the work of our universities and of University Extension. The chances are that what Mr. Depew said has been misrepresented. If he actually made the remark quoted, he probably used University Extension to mean the total influence of the universities as in one way and another it reaches the people.

We have lately seen it asserted that the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching "has failed in getting organized consecutive work;" that "it has been a centre of local intellectual awakening, most valuable, although it has not taken shape in students who pass examinations;" that "local development with a view to permanent organization is the chief feature of its policy under its present president." Whether the society has failed in the first particular depends upon what is meant by "organized consecutive work." As a matter of fact there are many well organized centres, in each of which an efficient administration has existed for three, four, or five years, giving courses every year, and occupied continually with the problem of bringing into closer relationship the topics treated. Unless, however, this is done with care there is danger of bringing all work to a stop, as courses unattractive to numbers are

apt to bankrupt the centres. Unlike the Lowell lectures in Boston and other free courses, University Extension lectures, as far as the individual centres are concerned, are usually self-supporting, or nearly so—a fact which seems to us to give to the system a peculiar strength. Our people rightly put a higher value upon privileges obtained at some cost to themselves; they feel that it is more self-respecting to pay a fee for educational lectures than to receive them as the bounty of a philanthropist. When eight thousand or ten thousand people in one neighborhood will pay for lectures, which compare favorably in serious quality with the Lowell lectures, let us say, there would appear to be an interest and a purpose intelligent enough to mean sequence and continuity in the work. If at present these qualities do not commonly obtain in the relation of courses one to another, it is because the life of most centres has not been long enough for the value of closely related study to be felt by the less earnest part of the audiences, a part whose attendance is usually necessary to enable the centres to pay expenses. On the other hand, these qualities are conspicuous in the relation of the lectures in any one course and in their connection with the class work and reading, by which the best students can get from each course three or four times the value of the lectures alone. A few of the oldest and most successful centres have had several courses well related to each other. It is not quite exact, therefore, to say that we have failed in getting organized consecutive work unless reference is had to university standards, which cannot be fairly applied. University Extension is meant for the many who have only their leisure to give to it, and not for the few who can devote whole years to special studies; it is not for those who should be university students. We are not trying to extend university training to the whole community, but to offer some of the fruits of university work; to make sensible to a larger number the difficulties of arriving at the truth and the pleasures of seeking it.

We are at a loss to know how to account for the impression that, although the American Society "has been a centre of local intellectual

awakening," this awakening "has not taken shape in students who pass examinations."

The books of the society show that 203 students passed examinations during the season of 1895-96—a not inconsiderable number for the sixth year of an educational system in which all the work, and especially the passing of examinations, is entirely voluntary. It is true that the present management of the society intends to stimulate "local development," but in doing so it does not mean to discourage new nor neglect distant centres. From the beginning the Board of Directors of the general society has had nearly the same membership, and it has given to the affairs and policy of the society such attention as has enabled it to exercise effective control. There will be no change of policy "with a view to permanent organization," as this end has always been desired and earnestly sought; there will simply be a concentration of effort upon the centres now organized, with a view to helping them to do the best possible work. In the early days of the society it seemed expedient to make a special point of bringing the extension idea before a large number of persons. Centres were organized in places which proved to be too remote to receive from the general office the care necessary to keep them in healthful activity. As a consequence, there were many instances in which a first course was not followed by another. The directors now propose to give particular attention to fostering established centres, rather than to conducting a propaganda in distant fields. University Extension study is no longer an unfamiliar idea. It has taken root all over the country. The important thing is to see that as the impulse grows it shall be wisely directed, and that the work done and the influence exerted shall be such as to win the respect of thoughtful people.

In the *New York Independent* for August 6, appears an excellent article from the pen of Dr. D. C. Gilman, President of the Johns Hopkins University, on "The Improvement of Public Schools." Many of the faults of our public schools, Dr. Gilman remarks, are due to the inefficiency of the teachers, the condition of the School Boards, which consist

for the most part of untrained men, and the absence of the teaching of morality. Dr. Gilman would have such a standard for teachers that it would be impossible for one without the necessary ability and knowledge to obtain a position in the public schools. The presence of college-bred young men on the School Board, who would be balanced by the older conservative members, would go a great way in preventing these governing bodies from sinking into fogysm. A better system of morality would prevail if a handbook of morality, based on the Scriptures, were made by two or more universities, including the Catholic University at Washington, which would meet the needs of all and excite the prejudices of none. Above all, the character of the teacher should be such as would hold before the eyes of pupils the truest principles of conduct. Dr. Gilman speaks of the attempts that are being made in this country by college presidents, such as Eliot, Low, Angell, Hall, and others, by three important journals edited by university men, by University Extension, and by University settlements, to bring the university into touch with the masses.

Dr. Gilman's mention of University Extension as one of the agents for bringing the university into closer touch with the people gives us an opportunity to remark on some of its methods. The American Society draws its lecturers from the university graduates and professors, and its audience is invariably the people. The school teacher, who before had no opportunity of knowing by actual experience the life of the university, may have revealed to him in extension work a more philosophic view of education than he can obtain from his purely professional experience. The school superintendents, several of whom were present at the Summer Meeting this year, are afforded additional advantages for living contact with university thought, and new ideas of method are brought to their attention. The breadth of view of University Extension Teaching in questions of religion and politics will do much in helping to bring about that happy state of affairs of which Dr. Gilman speaks, wherein sectarianism is replaced by Christian morality, and ignorant political bigotry by intelligent citizenship.



### The Life and Poetry of Dr. John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's.

The principle that "an individual who has both strong friends and violent enemies must himself be of strong character and marked personality," has ample justification in the person of Dr. John Donne; of the positiveness of his characteristics there can be no question and, surely, there are few men upon whom such diverse opinions have been passed.

Many, before and since Carew, have praised him as enthusiastically as did that poet in closing his elegy with the much quoted—

"Here lies a king, that ruled as he saw fit  
The universal monarchy of wit."

Many, on the other hand, sympathize with the verses of Coleridge concerning—

"Donne, whose muse or dromedary trots,"

or again with Jonson's terse comment that "Donne, for not keeping of accent, deserved hanging."

Many, truly, will follow critics beyond appreciating his thought as quaint, ingenious, and elaborate so far as to consider it unnatural, fantastic, and trifling. Some, imputing to the author lack of sympathy and designed ruggedness, call his work essentially unpoetic.

Fortunately, but a few persons, although some there are, go so far as terming both poet and his work tasteless, unfeeling, violent, execrable, and disgusting. His very staunchest friends of to-day can scarcely echo Ben Jonson's tribute to Donne as one—

"Whose every work of thy most early wit  
Came forth example, and remains so yet."

This was, however, the expressed opinion of Carew, Cowley, Crashaw, Walton, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Cleveland, Davidson, Bishop Corbet, Bishop King, Edmund Bolton, Endymion Porter, Heyde, Chudleigh, Dornelly, Mayne, and a number of others, whose opinions are no less entitled to respect.

The position which will do most credit to critical acumen and will also bear a true meed of honest praise to Donne is a medium one.

It must be acknowledged that his verses, on a superficial reading, seem like riddles made to conceal the thought instead of expressing it, but it is none the less true that a more careful study will always show wit, fancy, tenderness, and deep feeling. Although his lines will not allow themselves to be read in the liquid way which modern criticism insists upon for model verse, they have, in compensation, a deep and subtle music which adds true feeling to the thought, and a dignity and movement which, like that of Milton's verse, does much to replace the wanting smoothness.

Ben Jonson said with much truth that Donne was "the first poet of the world, in some things," and Dryden was, perhaps, equally truthful in styling him "the greatest wit, though not the best poet of our nation;" yet we can here bear in mind with especial profit Charles Lamb's warning against allowing some striking peculiarity, commendable or otherwise, in an author, to crowd from our attention other of his characteristics which may be less prominent. With this in mind, there may be recalled, without fear of too much emphasis, Lowell's estimate of "Donne, who wrote more profound verses than any other English poet save one only," as one whose work "suggests so much more than it tells, and works the more powerfully as it taxes more the imagination of the reader." "To open vistas for the imagination through the blind wall of the senses as he could sometimes do," continues Lowell, "is the supreme function of poetry." Lest, however, the caution be disregarded and overmuch praise be given, it is well to bring to mind the abatements. This may be done by a quotation which, while calling for leniency of criticism by pointing out the difficulty of the problem which this paper attempts to solve, will also suggest the reason why the solution has been attempted. *The Dial* (Chicago, May 1, 1896) in discussing the first popular edition of Donne (Muses' Library Ed. Chambers), but recently published, has said:—

"Donne drew around him a cloudy something which keeps him forever to himself. And whoever may have penetrated within has been unable, on coming forth, to render a good account of what he has experienced. . . . Whoever can write anything which shall give a true and sufficient idea of John Donne, such an idea as will make the general reader of poetry understand why he is regarded as a poet of surpassing genius, may deem himself no longer an apprentice in the art of criticism. Donne is the most baffling of the minor poets. . . . A number of men have tried their hands, and yet no lover of Donne feels that anything adequate has been said, and those who know the poet still remain an elect number."

While a great many persons who have known Donne but slightly have not cared for him, and while to yet more he has been altogether unknown, the number of those who have been true, loving, and appreciative friends has continually increased from the time of Sir Henry Wotton and Izaak Walton down to the present day.

This same Sir Henry Wotton at Donne's death, in 1631, began gathering material for a biography which he intended as a tribute to the memory of his life-long and dearly beloved friend. Sir Henry died in 1639 and his task, scarcely more than begun, was lovingly and reverently taken up by another member of the coterie, the humble linen draper, who was the friend of so many great men, "good Mr.

Walton," as people chose to call him. Sad at the death of his wife, his daughter, and his dearest friends, Izaak Walton went about seeking more materials—Landor has thus pictured him in one of his 'Imaginary Conversations'—and then gave them forth in such a form and with so much of himself that 'Walton's Life of Donne' has long been considered to deserve, as a piece of literature, a place by the side of the 'Complete Angler' itself.

Henry Wotton and John Donne began to be friends when, as boys, they had chummed together at Oxford, where Donne had gone at the age of twelve years. He went so early, probably, to escape taking the oath of supremacy—the test of loyalty to the crown and the Reformed Church of England—which was exacted from all persons entering the University after sixteen. Such an oath Donne could not take, since all his training had been in the atmosphere of the Roman Church, of which his ancestors—among them Sir Thomas More—had been staunch adherents even to the death.

In addition to the usual stories of precocity related of brilliant youths, it is said that Donne was commonly compared to Picus, Prince of Mirandula, that friend of Lorenzo di Medici, who at eighteen knew twenty-two languages, and at twenty-four discoursed upon every branch of knowledge.

Traces of Romanistic thought, which are in a number of the Divine Poems, have caused the composition of some of them to be assigned to this university period of the poet's life. It is possible that among these should be classed the sonnet 'On the Blessed Virgin Marie,' which suggests the immaculate conception; 'The Crosse,' in which the use of the crucifix is commended in Donne's most involved style, the word "cross" occurring in half the lines of the poem; and 'A Litanie' following the order of the Roman 'Litany of the Saints.' In this place should also belong the sonnet sequence, 'La Corona,' where there is to be found the very characteristic description of Christ as—

"That all which always was all, everywhere,  
Which cannot synne, and yet all sins must bear,  
Which cannot dye, yet cannot chose but dye."

The first of a series of 'Holy Sonnets' strongly recalls, both in matter and in expression, Michael Angelo's 'Prayer for Purification.' Another sonnet, which has been called by Archbishop Trench, "The genuine cry of one engaged in that most terrible of all struggles," suggests that "There is much in Donne . . . which . . . reminds us of St. Augustine . . . there was the same tumultuous youth, the same entanglement in youthful lusts, the same final deliver-

ance from them; and then the same passionate and personal grasp of the central truths of Christianity, linking itself as this did with all that he had suffered and all that he had sinned, and all through which, by God's grace, he had victoriously struggled."

It must have been during or at the end of these three Oxford years that the change of feeling away from Romanism toward Protestantism began. The tendency seems to have continued during three more years of foreign travel and study of French, Italian, and Spanish until it was well nigh completed about 1592, when, after preparation at Thavin's Inn, Donne and his very dear friend Christopher Brooke lived, studied, and took their recreation at the law school of Lincoln's Inn. There is much to make one feel how severe must have been the struggle in giving up the old belief for the new, and it is probably right to agree with Mr. Grosart and others in thinking that, in the removal of the restraint of the Roman Catholic teachings, the emancipated youth erred in the other extreme by plunging into the profligacy and immorality of the period.

Of all of Donne's elegies—the term is used not in its original sense of a song of mourning, but in the wider meaning of a light essay on an intellectual or moral subject—of all of Donne's elegies, but two or three are unsullied by grossness and, if the leading of the larger number is accepted, one must leave the confines of pure, honest, and decorous society to follow to the unclean haunts of the immodest, loose, and shameless. To crowd out from remembrance these evil years and their records, there is needed all the noble, exalted, and truly magnificent work of the poet's later life. While the very fact that he had been evil and later became noble creates a greater personal sympathy for Donne, the wish is yet strong that the dark years had been other than they were.

The brilliant circle in which the young students moved included the poets John Selden, Ben Jonson, Michael Drayton, John Davies of Hereford, and William Browne; and, the impulses which stimulated Donne to become a writer of satires perhaps, not only from literary studies, but also from conversation with these wits, from an innate sense of humor, and, possibly, from a dissatisfaction with life as he was seeing it.

Whether or no it is just to style Donne "the first English satirist," is still a mooted question, but, written between 1593 and 1597, his satires are among the earliest in the language. They rank among the best of the period in their freedom from the common servility in following originals in the classic languages.



These satires—there are seven of them—treat of morality and religion and the poor rewards of literary life, but especially of royal evils, court follies, and public corruption. A reading between the lines suggests that the author must have been at this period, a vigorous, fearless, mildly cynical, yet usually good humored, man of the world. Sometimes the touches are clever and humorous, abounding in light raillery, in puns, and in witty allusions; at other times, when the subject seems to require it, there is shown a force of idea which is powerful and even majestic in its crushing invective. The results of wide and exact observation and of unusual modes of thought are expressed with such accurate figures and such finished word-fitting that the work abounds in passages remarkable in their aptness for quotation. This aptness for quotation is limited only by the unexpectedness of thought and the extraordinary compactness of expression, making it often necessary to read and reread a passage many times before its content is wholly understood and appreciated.

Dryden may have had in mind this difficulty of understanding Donne at a first reading, together with his unevenness of versification, when he remarked that the satires, if "translated into numbers and English," might be much admired. Pope and Parnell so fully agreed with this opinion that they attempted the revision, but the result they attained by putting Donne's thought into smoothly flowing lines was not a happy one. Dr. Samuel Brown, of Edinburgh, can almost be justified in thinking that Pope "improved" Donne, as the sailor who had obtained a curiosity in the form of the weapon of a sword fish, "improved" it by scraping and smoothing away all the protuberances which distinguished it from any other bone.

Together with the satires may be classed the epigrams where the same characteristics of unusual thought and condensed expression are to be noted. One of these on 'The Anti-quary' reads—

"If in his study he hath so much care,  
To hang old strange things, let his wife beware."

Another brings comfort to the 'Disinherited'—

"Thy father all from thee by his last will  
Gave to the poor, thou hast good title still."

A third on 'A Burnt Ship,' shows the love of antithesis at its height—

"Out of a fired ship, which, by no way  
But drowning, could be rescued from the flame,  
Some men leaped forth, and ever as they came  
Neerer the foe's ships, did by their shot decay;  
So all were lost which in the ship were found  
They in the sea being burnt, they in the burnt ship  
drowned."

All along through the poet's life the lyric poems were written, and a number of them must have grown from these early London days. These lyrics, in more than fifty different metres, light, dainty, gay, and joyous, smooth and liquid too when he chose to make them so, whether working out original conceits or ringing the variations upon familiar themes, deserve all the epithets of charming, delightful, and admirable, which they have received.

Justly famous is the 'Song,' in lighter vein, with the verses—

"If thou be'st born to strange sights,  
Things invisible go see,  
Ryde ten thousand days and nights,  
'Till age snow white hairs on thee.  
Thou at thy return wilt tell mee  
All strange wonders that befell thee,  
And sweare,  
No wheare  
Lives a woman true and fayre.

If thou findst one, let me know;  
Such a pyllgrimage were sweete:  
Yet do not; I wold not goe,  
Though at next dore we should meete.  
Though she weare true when you mett her,  
And last so 'till you wryte your letter,  
Yet shce  
Will be  
False, ere I come, to two or three."

There is much lightness as graceful and as heartless as this, but there is still more constancy and earnestness, as in the 'Song' which contains the stanzas—

"Sweetest love, I doe not goe  
For wearyness of thee,  
Nor in hope the world can showe  
A fyter love for mee;  
But since that I  
Must dye at last, 'tis best  
Thus to use myselfe in jest,  
Thus by fayned death to dye.

Yesternight the sunn went hence,  
And yet is here to-day;  
He hath no desire nor sence,  
Nor half so short a way.  
Then fear not mee;  
But believe that I shall make  
Hastier journeys, since I take  
More wings and spurs than hee."

We do not wonder that such verses as these should captivate all who knew them and that John Donne should have become the poet of his age, this too in spite of the fact that all his verses circulated in manuscript only, the poems being first printed in a collection after his death.

This young poet, "imbued to saturation, with all the learning of his age" was, according to Walton, "of stature moderately tall: of a straight and equally proportioned body, to which all of his words and actions gave an inexpressible addition of comeliness. The melancholy and pleasant humours were in

him so contempered, that each gave advantage to the other, and made his company one of the delights of mankind." Indeed, the cleverness of his conversation became noted and his witty sayings were quoted far and wide.

Donne formed many friends, among them persons elevated both in character and rank, such as Lady Magdalen Herbert, mother of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and of George Herbert the poet, of whom he wrote so delightfully—

"No Spring nor Summer's beauty hath such grace  
As I have seen in one Autumnall face."

Among the "Verse Letters" there are a number to various persons of prominence, all written in the adulatory vein considered proper for such addresses. Those, indeed, to the Countess of Bedford, the Countess of Huntingdon, the Countess of Salisbury, Lady Carey, and Mrs. Rich are stilted in thought and phrase. Similarly formal and studied is the letter to Sir Edward Herbert, but Donne's verses to his friends the Brookes, to Sir Henry Wotton, to the Woodwards, Sir Thomas Roe, and some friends whose names are indicated only by initials, abound in true friendliness as well as in sparkling wit. These more familiar letters treat of study, travel, life in country, town and court, of youth and age, separation and meeting, of friendship, love and poetry, and all in a somewhat formal way, which indicates that the pieces may, perhaps, have been enclosed in letters to the persons addressed. Some others, containing literary criticism, anticipate in conception our modern 'Letters to Dead Authors,' or 'Overheard in Arcady.' Most charming and delightful, perhaps, of all are the verses to Ben Jonson and "To my very learned friend, Dr. Andrews, concerning a printed book which, when it was borrowed by him, was torn in pieces at the house by the children, and afterwards returned in manuscript."

The high grade of literary excellence maintained throughout all these letters stamps them as real poems very far removed from the rhymed prose in some of the familiar letters of Cowper. These certainly were not written with the facility of ordinary correspondence, for they evince frequent references to the common-place book and such care in composition that a reading convinces one of the truth of the surmise that Donne was not a rapid but a careful and painstaking writer.

There is always danger of discussing the 'Verse Letters' at greater length than their proportional importance deserves, but some such admirable passages occur that quotations may be taken from them rather than from some of Donne's more ambitious literary performances. And these letters show in a man-

ner different from that of any of his other works the individuality of the author.

There is a Coleridge-like bit of description in 'The Calm,' when all the world was so still that

" . . . . . in one place lay  
Feathers and dust, to-day and yesterday."

Wit is frequent—

"I have been told that virtue in courtiers' hearts  
Suffers an ostracism and departs."

There are many lines which combine epigrammatic terseness with philosophic depth—

"Who prayerless labours, or without this prayer  
Doth but one half, that's none."

Donne's adroit originality of thought is nowhere better shown than by his mode of excusing himself for having praised so many ladies. The lines read—

"And if things like these have been said by me  
Of others, call not that idolatry.  
For had God made man first, and man had seen  
The third day's fruits and flowers and various greens,  
He might have said the best that he could say  
Of those fair creatures which were made that day;  
And when next day he had admired the birth  
Of sun, moon, stars, fairer than late praised earth,  
He might have said the best that he could say,  
And not be chid for praising yesterday.  
So, though some things are not together true,  
As that another's fairest and that you;  
Yet to say so, doth not condemn a man,  
If, when he spake them, they were lothwise than."

In extricating himself from even so serious a predicament, it seems that Donne must be given the additional credit of being sufficiently sly not to exhaust his happy figure, but to preserve it for use in some future escape when the creations of the first days might be made to pale beside the lovely Eve. One almost imagines him deliberately involving himself in a complication that he might employ so clever an explanation.

Donne, now being made secretary to Lord Ellesmere, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, came still more into contact with prominent persons, and bore himself so well that duties of increasing importance were entrusted to him.

He seems to have been, as became every good courtier of his day, an ardent lover, and the somewhat unsafe practice of constructing from a poet's work cycles of poems illustrative of his life, may be indulged in, in the case of Donne's love lyrics, with comparative safety.

Such a cycle might begin with 'The Ecstasie,' treating of overwhelming love, with 'Love's Infiniteness,' of love more than the poet's heart can contain; or with 'Negative Love,' of affection which beggars description. In 'Valedictia Amoris,' a cruel separation

occurs, the lover being obliged to go upon a journey. In 'The Paradox,' he is dying of love; and in 'The Legacy,' he wishes to send the lady his heart, but, upon opening his bosom, her own heart was found in its stead.

So far as the lady is concerned, out of sight seems, indeed, out of mind, and in 'Love's Dietie,' the poet bewails the sadness of unreturned affection and ventures a present. In 'A Jeate Ringe Sente,' he is still disconsolate, lamenting her lack of faith and exhorting the artist to complete 'The Portrait'—begun in happier days as a present for her—in shadow and dark tints.

In sadness is written 'Twit'nam Garden,' where the beauties of nature only increase sorrow to an agony of remembrance. The lover exhorts his lady, in 'A Valediction of My Name in the Window,' to allow the sun, as it shadows his name into the room, to remind her of his love, or prays that, as she opens the casement to converse with another, the sight of his name may recall her to constancy.

In 'The Token,' no ribbon, ring, bracelet, no picture nor even letter is desired; the lady is asked merely to say she thinks the lover constant. All, however, is in vain as the poet had known it would be. He accepts, in 'The Prohibition,' her hate as he had done her love, yet laments, in 'My Heart,' that she should so have requited his deep affection.

The mood now seems to change into a Browning-like feeling that it is better so to be, and that, while she is forever lost to him, he has been made nobler by having nobly loved even one so unworthy of his constant affection. This is evidenced in 'A Dialogue between Sir Henry Wotton and Mr. Donne,' where love is praised for love's own sake. The lover still keeps his lady's hair bracelet as a token, he will wear it, in 'The Funeral,' into his grave, and until, in 'The Relique,' his bones are exhumed.

To all of these lyrics well applies Minto's comment that "In love, as in religion, there are three churches, the High Church, the Low Church, and the Broad Church. Love was worshiped in the Elizabethan age with elaborate rites and ceremonies, and 'the poets were all extreme Ritualists.'"

One reason why Donne's love poems were so full of feeling was discovered when it was learned, shortly after Christmas of the year 1600, that he had secretly married the daughter of Sir George Moore, Lord Lieutenant of the Tower, who, as the niece and companion of Lady Egerton, had seen much of the young secretary.

Walton well said concerning this marriage that love was "a flattering mischief," for the enraged Sir George took forcible possession of

the sixteen-year-old bride and, besides causing the young husband to be dismissed from his secretaryship, had him and the two Brookes, who were present at the wedding, imprisoned in the Tower.

Donne's own incarceration did not last a great while, but it was only after a long and troublesome suit in law that his wife was yielded to him. He tried for reinstatement in his position, but it was in vain, even after reconciliation with Sir George came, and there were days when the outlook justified the characteristic phrase with which Donne closed a letter to his wife, "John Donne, Anne Donne, un-done."

That the shadows of the picture were somewhat compensated for by a brighter side may be seen from the true love in the many lyrics addressed to his wife during this time of unhappiness. Yet this very love intensified his sorrow at the misfortune brought upon her. He says, "I write from the fireside in my parlour, and in the noise of three gamesome children, and by the side of her whom, because I have transplanted into such a wretched fortune, I must labour to disguise that from her by all such honest devices as giving her my company and discourse."

This seems to have been written soon after a half dozen years had been spent living in the houses of friends, and the Donnes had once more come under their own roof-tree in a small house at Mitcham. The poet's qualities were gradually but surely gaining him once more popularity at court, and his circle of acquaintances continually widened, until, from the salons of the great ladies, he came, because of his reading aloud and his discussion, to be gladly welcomed at the royal table.

New dignities, however, brought new burdens. James, convinced that the church alone should claim such gifts as Donne possessed, steadily refused to confer any preferment upon him except that of the churchly dignity. Thomas Moran, chaplain to the king and afterward Bishop of Durham, to whom the poet had been of assistance in his literary labors, added his persuasions to those of the king; but Donne steadily refused. To Bishop Marten, one of many others who urged him to enter the church, he explained his stand by writing: "I dare make so dear a friend as you my confessor. Some irregularities of my life have been so visible to some men that, though I have, I thank God, made my peace with Him by penitential resolutions against them, and by the assistance of His grace banished them from my affections; yet his, which God knows to be so, is not so visible to man as to free me from their

censures, and it may be that sacred calling from a dishonour."

Many poems were produced at this period; the king was further pleased by a controversial work favoring the Reformed Church, and in 1610 Oxford conferred upon Donne the degree of M. A.

The daughter of Sir Robert Drury, of Hausted, Suffolk, having died at the age of sixteen, Donne seems to have been employed to compose for her an epitaph. Upon this theme we have the elegy entitled, 'An Anatomy of the World, wherein by occasion of the untimely death of Mistris Elizabeth Drury, the Frailty and Decay of the whole world is represented.' This was printed in 1611, and in 1612 reprinted with an added second part, 'The Second Anniversarie, or the Progress of the Soule.' These elegies were written in the heroic couplet, and were the first and only considerable portion of Donne's poetical work published during his lifetime. Even these were issued with some reluctance, for it seems that Donne felt his poems all to be "fragments of one grand confession," and too much a part of himself to be spread broadcast.

An outline of the first of the four sections into which, with a conclusion, the 'Anatomy' is divided, will show the peculiar and, at times, fantastic course of the thought. The world, convulsed with sorrow at the death of the lady, shaken by an earthquake and racked by convulsive fevers, yielding to the many ills of sickness, finally perishes, and now, although the soul has fled, the poet comes to attempt what lessons may be drawn from an anatomy or study of the dead body.

Sad lessons of mortality and corruption are to be deduced, for although by the walking of the ghost of the lady a sort of world would be yet retained, it is illuminated but by the twilight of her memory instead of the dazzling brilliance of her presence. This dreadful time when all is gone and nothing whole remains, is the dread consummation of the evils begun in the Garden of Eden. Compared with the early men, in length of life we are but infants, in size of stature pigmies, in understanding simpletons. All this has come to man—once monarch of the world—since, in the lady's death, the heart of all is dead.

In the other divisions of the poem, it is shown how not only the heart has died but also how body and substance, beauty, color, and lustre have perished in the death of the lady.

The 'Second Anniversary' is in a similar tone:—That the earth has lasted long enough for a second anniversary of her death to arrive would surely be a proof of its everlastingness,

but that the life which the world now has is as the inertia which keeps moving a ship which has struck her sails, as the convulsive movements of a beheaded body, or a lute lying alone which sounds by the snapping of its strings. The poet seizes the brief time remaining before the final dissolution to speak again the lady's praise. As a motto for the whole might be set the lines—

"She, shee is gone: she is gone; when thou knowest this,  
What fragmentary rubbish this world is  
Thou knowest, and that it is not worth a thought,  
He honors it too much who thinks it nought."

In the poem there are crowded, sometimes most incongruously, remarkable observation of the beautiful and humorous, bits of satire, references to the absorbing discoveries of the new science, side by side with figures decidedly unhappy because of their lack of taste. The very vigor of the imaginative, daring, and fantastic figures frequently deflects from its main theme the train of speculative thought which runs through the development of the whole. Yet, paradoxical as it is,—Donne is full of paradoxes—one of the striking characteristics of the work is the restraint by which the poet vividly suggests in a few words what another man would have made weak and ineffective by telling in many sentences.

Quotable passages await one on every side, but there is time to pause an instant only, and that instant because it is impossible to pass unnoticed such phrases as—

"We're scarce our father's shadows cast at noone."

"Onely death ads t'our length; nor are we growne  
In stature to be men, 'till we are none."

"Be more than man, or thou'rt lesse than an ant."

Beside the frequently quoted description of the lady:—

"... her pure and eloquent blood  
Spoke in her cheeks, and so distinctly wrought,  
That one might almost say her body thought;"

there may be placed—

"She, whose faire body no such prison was,  
But that a soule might well be pleased to passe  
An age in her;"

and—

"One whose deare body was so pure and thin,  
Because it need disguise no thought within,  
'Twas but a through-light scarfe, her mind t'enroule."

Somewhat similar to these poems are the several 'Funeral Elegies' which comprehend more strong passages, in proportion to their extent, than any other of Donne's poems. Extreme extravagance of thought and expression is largely absent. The thought is peculiar and the manner of expressing it quaint, yet there is a reflective and philosophical



depth and a reverential solemnity, which is powerful and uplifting as it manifests itself in the treatment of God, Providence, life, and death, faith, trust, hope, knowledge, wisdom, peace, and the future life.

The honor, purity, goodness, courage, grace, and sweetness of the dead are praised, while the tone of real honest feeling which seems to underlie these tributes as it does not underlie all of Donne's work, both stimulates our sympathy for the loss and our friendly feeling for the author. The 'Obsequies of Ye Lord Harrington' is the best of these elegies.

Concerning Miss Drury, too, may have been written the 'Progress of the Soul,' which, to some minds, is the best of all Donne's poems. The thought of 'The Progress of the Soul' is fresh, original, and delightfully strange, while the fullness of apt expressions and happy characterizations, and the many passages of deeply earnest thought and of lightly playful humor make the poem indeed an excellent one. The poet, according to the Pythagorean doctrine of metempsychosis, in following the soul of his lady from its creation in the forbidden fruit in the Garden of Eden, by his wonderful imagination, takes us into animal and vegetable, fish and fowl, monkey and man, tracing the soul until it comes into a woman.

Not least in the interest of the poem is the frequent working up of facts of folk-lore, of popular and of ecclesiastical tradition.

The pillars of Seth the antediluvian, are mentioned; the Roman divinity Janus is identified with the Biblical Noah; the tree of life in the Garden of Eden grows on the same spot upon which its trunk was afterward used as the holy cross—as in the rood-tree cycle of stories; the resemblances of the roots of the mandrake together with the traditional properties of its leaves and berries are brought in; the loose habits of the sparrow, the hatred of the small fish for the whale, the mouse killing the elephant by crawling up the proboscis and gnawing the brain; the wife of Cain and the relations of Cain and Seth—these are some of the stories touched upon. Mingled with them are real geographical and historical allusions, a somewhat surprising knowledge of science—evidenced in speaking of the moon and tides, the fertilization of fish roe, and the anatomical structure of the body—and an occasional bit of theological discussion.

The quaintness of the ideas stimulates the imagination, the masterly manner in which they are presented arouses the admiration, and the abundance of quietly amused interest in the philosophic humor appeals to good nature; all of these elements unite to make 'The Progress of the Soul' most pleasant

reading and stimulates a desire to know more of the life and work of its author.

So well were Sir Robert and Lady Drury pleased with all these poems that Donne was taken with them upon a long continental journey, while Mrs. Donne and her children were domiciled in Drury House, where, indeed, they remained until the death of Sir Robert, five years later.

Upon returning to England, Donne finally announced his intention of taking orders, and the next three years were spent in the study of languages and theology, and in the writing of a number of religious and theological works. Yet the lighter vein was not altogether neglected for the 'Epithalamia' were written about this period. These marriage songs, although quite conventional in thought, are thoroughly artistic and have a light and airy beauty which is quite striking.

Almost immediately after his ordination in 1615, James I. made Donne chaplain, commanding him to preach before the court, and in a very short while the king and Prince Charles, upon a visit to Cambridge, expressed a desire to have the degree of D. D. conferred upon the new chaplain.

It seemed that the early escapades of the newly made cleric were yet in the public mind, for the University of Cambridge steadily refused to grant the honor until it was threatened with the king's mandate. Even then the degree was conferred under protest, and no entry of its conference was ever made upon the official records of the University.

Public opinion, however, was not all against him, for during the first year fourteen different country livings were offered Donne, and his fervor and eloquence as a pulpit orator were known far and wide. Concerning his preaching Walton seems to give a fair, although somewhat enthusiastic, estimate in saying, "preaching the word so, as showed his own heart was possessed with those very thoughts and joys that he laboured to distil into others; a preacher in earnest; weeping sometimes for his auditory, sometimes with them; always preaching to himself, like an angel from a cloud but in none; carrying some, as St. Paul was, to heaven in holy raptures and enticing others by a sacred art and courtship to amend their lives; here picturing a vice so as to make it ugly to those who practiced it, and a virtue so as to make it beloved even by those that loved it not; and all this with a most particular grace and an inexpressible addition of comeliness."

One or two temporary holdings were accepted, until the rectory of Sevenoaks was received and held until his death. Donne was now made Reader in Divinity by the

benchers of Lincoln's Inn, delivering before the society two sermons every Sunday in term time and others on special occasions. At the splendid dedication of their chapel, designed by Inigo Jones, Donne was selected to preach the sermon.

"The celebrated Dr. Donne," was now the term by which he was known, and he became recognized as one of the most able and eloquent preachers of the day.

Before it was possible long to enjoy the recognition which was coming from the world, within the family circle there came an almost overwhelming blow. This was the death of Mrs. Donne, in 1617, at an age of little more than thirty years. She was survived by seven children, five more having died during her life time. Walton pictures the intense sorrow of the bereaved man, "as the Israelites sat mourning by the rivers of Babylon, when they remembered Sion, so he gave some ease to his oppressed heart by thus reciting his sorrows; thus he began the day, and ended the night; ended the restless night and began the weary day in lamentation."

Donne's first sermon after the death of his wife was from the text, "Lo, I am the man that have seen affliction." His sorrow was poetically recorded in the 'Lament for His Wife,' and in the metrical version of the Book of Lamentations which was probably made at this period.

Finding that "occupation was salvation," Donne threw himself so intensely into his studies that his health suffered severely. His industry was very extraordinary and the results of it most remarkable. Walton tells that at his death "he left the resultance of 1400 authors, most of them abridged and analyzed with his own hand," and also "all business that passed of any public consequence, either in this or any of our neighbouring nations, he abbreviated either in Latin, or in the language of that nation, and kept them by him for useful memorial. So he did the copies of divers letters and cases of conscience that had concerned his friends, with his observations and solutions of them, and divers other business of importance, all particularly and methodically digested by himself."

At the solicitation of many friends, Donne was persuaded to accompany Lord Doncaster to Germany. He delivered an eloquent farewell, preached before the Princess at Heidelberg, and was presented with the Staats-General gold medal at the Hague. In 1620, he was again preaching at Whitehall, his journey having improved his health and somewhat lessened his sorrows.

It is related that one day at dinner the king in his most pleasant manner remarked: "Dr.

Donne, I have invited you to dinner, and though you sit not down with me, yet I will carve to you a dish that I know you love well; for, knowing you love London, I do therefore make you Dean of St. Paul's; and, when I have dined, then do you take your beloved dish home to your study, say grace there to yourself and much good may it do you."

Not only this magnificent preferment, but also others, none so great but all together swelling the account, came to Dean Donne. The duties of prolocutor of the convocation of parliament, of the rectories of Blunham and of Bedfordshire, and of the vicarage of St. Dunstan's in the west, together with the functions of Royal Chaplain were all administered in addition to those of the deanery of St. Paul's.

Donne's sermon before the Virginia Company, celebrated for the sympathy it excited with the larger and nobler aims of the enterprise, has been called the first missionary sermon printed in the English language.

Religious and theological activity now so crowded the attention that only a few 'Divine Poems' represent the poetical activity of this period. Here may be placed 'The Ode,' referring sorrowfully to the earlier wanderings; the 'Hymn to Christ,' of repentance and prayer for aid; and the 'Hymn to God, My God, in My Sickness,' betokening a mature life drawing near its completion.

That Donne indeed felt his end approaching was made evident in no way more than by his now having made that remarkable grave monument for which he posed, shrouded in grave clothes and standing upright upon a marble urn, and in having drawn his will with its many characteristic bequests. Frequent illnesses began to presage the end and when preaching at Whitehall in February, 1631, he was so exceedingly ill that the king remarked he was preaching his own funeral sermon. The remark proved to be true for it was indeed Donne's last sermon; the text, "Unto God belong the issues of death," and the exceeding solemnity of the discourse contributed to its impressiveness.

In drawing to its close a study of Donne, a poet who was yet more a man, whose kindly heart was and is felt through his poetry, we can appreciate the frame of mind in which those who have presented to his memory elegies and tributes have, practically without exception, concluded not with attempts at a critical summary of his literary methods or productions but with words of deep personal feeling. We may then have countenance in concluding our own study by quoting as a final illustration the 'Hymn to God the Father,' one of Donne's latest pieces of work.



In its recounting of sin, repentance, forgiveness, struggle toward the ideal, longing cry for help, faith and consequent peace, it sums up the life of Donne and of many another man. The poem reads:

"Wilt Thou forgive that sin where I begun,  
Which was my sin, though it were done before?  
Wilt Thou forgive that sin, through which I run  
And do run still, though still I do deplore?  
When Thou hast done, Thou hast not done;  
For I have more.

Wilt Thou forgive that sin which I have wonne  
Others to sin, and made my sins their door?  
Wilt Thou forgive that sin which I did shun  
A year or two, but wallowed in a score?  
When Thou hast done, Thou hast not done;  
For I have more.

I have a sin of fear, that when I have spun  
My last thread, I shall perish on the shore;  
But swear by Thyself, that at my death Thy Son  
Shall shine as He shines now and heretofore:  
And having done that, Thou hast done;  
I fear no more."

John Donne died on March 31, 1631, aged eight and fifty years.

CLYDE BOWMAN FURST.

### The Relation of the Railroads to the State.\*

One of the wittiest of our writers has said that in youth we build ladders to the moon and in mature years we take these ladders down and are content to use them as wood for a cowshed.

Twenty years ago, when the manifestations of the evil of private railway administration had reached their maximum point, it seemed to me that there was much to be said in favor of the opinion, then prevalent among those who had given serious thought to the question of railway administration, that there was no other way out of the difficulties that then environed us than the taking over of the railways by the state. Since that time the railway system of the United States has so vastly increased in volume and value that, from the mere bulk of the sum involved, this has ceased to be a practical idea. Many evils that then existed have, under civilizing influences without legislation, and under legislation due to such civilizing influences, been so ameliorated, if not abolished, that the pressure for drastic changes has been relieved; and it has become generally recognized that a state administration of the railway system by an actual acqui-

sition of the system must be relegated, in the United States, to the limbo of discarded ideas, probably never to be urged again. In the earlier history of railway enterprises all the charters contained a provision for their purchase by the state within a certain time and upon a certain basis. But no effort has been made in any of the states of the Union to make use of the opportunity thus presented. The drift of thought had taken a wholly different direction. Competition—free field and no favor—was regarded as the antidote against monopoly; and under the stimulus of general laws which enabled any given number of persons to file, at nominal expense, in a public office, articles of incorporation to run a railway from any point to any other point, and, quite independent and irrespective of public necessity—which it was supposed would be gauged by the self-interest of those who undertook the enterprise,—railway projects, and railways as a fact, increased by leaps and bounds in the United States, and to an extent far surpassing their development in any other country. From decade to decade tens of thousands of miles were added to the railway system which increased from 9000 miles in 1850, to 30,000 miles in 1860, to 52,000 miles in 1870, to 93,000 miles in 1880, to 156,000 miles in 1890, and to about 170,000 miles in 1895. Statistics vary about this latter figure, but for the purpose of the suggestion that I make, a mere matter of 5000 miles is of no great consequence. What I desire particularly to draw attention to is that the 'Statesmen's Year Book' of 1895—the most authoritative general statistical compendium in the English language—gives the total mileage of railways for the whole of Europe at the beginning of 1894, as 148,174 miles. We should, therefore, in relation to any suggestion of taking over the railway systems of the United States by the state, on the theory that the state is the normal road-builder and that its highways should be in its own possession, be compelled to deal with railway systems larger than those of the whole of Europe combined, and with an amount of capitalization considerably upwards of \$11,000,000,000. A system of government designedly so loosely put together as that of the United States, which never was intended to supplement private energy but simply to protect the lives and property of its citizens and to leave them largely free to look after their own development, is not, from the nature of its organism, the character of its institutions, and the requisite amount of power which is wielded by it, in the least adapted for the control of such an enterprise, which represents the largest single investment of values in the whole country. Bulk alone,

\* Read before the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, November 27, 1895.

therefore, as I have stated at the outset, remits all suggestions even of ultimate acquisition of the railways by the state to the realm of chimerical and scarcely academic theories. We must look, therefore, in an entirely different direction for regulation (we can scarcely speak of control) of a power which has outstripped all other single interests, and upon the prosperity of which a very considerable proportion of the prosperity of the whole nation depends.

In this connection let me give a slight sketch of what has been done in other countries.

In France every cession of the main lines was limited to fifty years, within which time the lines were to be permitted to remain in private hands, the state having power to take over at an expert valuation their rolling stock and improvements. Yet, although the fifty years have elapsed, no effort is being made by the French government to act upon the right possessed, but, on the contrary, the influence of the railway magnates and the state of French finance have been sufficient to prolong the time of cession and to make the conditions of acquisition additional burdens upon the state in the event of its ultimately taking over the properties of the great radiating lines issuing from Paris and going to the uttermost ends of France.

Stimulated by the example of Prussia, France undertook, shortly after its recovery from the effects of the war of 1871, to build state lines, but even there the possession of the private lines made itself felt so strongly that the French administration had to content itself with building what is known as *vicinal* lines,—small connecting lines between the main lines or transverse lines, running from east to west instead of radiating through the territory,—which have but a limited business and do not pay a reasonable percentage upon the capital invested. So that until 1890 the proportion of private lines to state lines was 93 per cent in the hands of private companies and 7 per cent only in the hands of the state.

Italy allowed its railways to be built by private enterprise. All that territory, lying north of the southerly line of Lombardy, and part of Tuscany were under the control of the Austrian government, the railways south of that line were the property of Italian industrial companies. When North Italy fell into the hands of the Italian state, after the Franco-Austrian-Italian war, the North Italian lines became the property of the state. That being the more highly developed part of Italy, the state itself constructed additional lines, so that by the end of the year 1889 about 60 per cent were owned by the state and

about 30 per cent were under the mixed control of the state and private ownership, and only about 10 per cent in the hands of private owners. The Italian government by that time had become so hampered and harassed by its ownership and state control that it felt called upon to re-let the major part of its own railways, placing them in the hands of private individuals, for their traffic development and operation.

Germany pursued since 1872 a wholly different course. In that year it began to purchase, mainly for military reasons, the railways of the state, so that in 1891, in the whole of Germany, less than 10 per cent of the railways of that country were private enterprises.

Austria-Hungary, under the influence of the example of Prussia, pursued the same policy, so that the state, at the end of the year 1891, owned 32 per cent of the whole of the railway system of Austria. The state had leased about 12 per cent additional and left therefore, under the control of private interests about 56 per cent. In Hungary, at the end of the year 1891, the state owned and leased 81 per cent of the railway system, leaving as private enterprise about 19 per cent.

In Belgium the railways are all owned by the state.

In Netherlands, 58 per cent of the railway belonged to the state in 1891, and about 42 per cent were in the hands of private individuals.

In Russia 36 per cent were in the hands of the state in 1891, and about 64 per cent were private interests. But this proportion is rapidly changing because, since that time, the great transcontinental railway has been undertaken by the Russian government, which, traversing the whole of Russia in Asia, will change very considerably that proportion in favor of the state.

In Roumania and Servian Bulgaria the state expropriated the various private railway enterprises and since 1890 has owned them all. In Portugal about 38 per cent are in the hands of the state and about 62 per cent in the hands of private enterprise. In Spain, Switzerland, and Great Britain, all the railways are in the hands of private enterprise. The governments of the Australian Colonies, on the other hand, are the owners of their own railway systems.

There is, therefore, an immense field of comparison for the purpose of ascertaining which of the two systems is the better for the development of a country, or whether the mixed system—in part private ownership and in part ownership by the state—is the one which results most satisfactorily.

The advantages, which have developed mainly in Prussia, of a system of state ownership are, first, a unital tariff system organized with absolute rigor and without deviation and wholly in the interest of the community; secondly, the capacity to build with the proceeds of loans bearing a low rate of interest, the principal of the obligation yielding in proceeds par and above for the purposes of the railway; thirdly, the construction of lines to develop traffic in certain sections of the country, without reference to immediate returns; fourthly, the entire abolition of the frauds and wrongdoing incident to railway finance, where such finance is not subject to governmental control or governmental supervision; fifthly, greater freedom from accidents due to the very great development of a unital schedule of arrival and departure of trains, having reference to strict connection with other lines and entirely free from the competitive annoyances to which such lines would be subjected if they belonged to rival systems, as they would under private ownership; sixthly, prompt repairs of highways and maintenance of roads, arising from the fact that there is no fund belonging to bondholders or stockholders which is jeopardized by such application of the income of the roads. In other words, the state, being ready to make up any deficit from the earnings of the railways, arising from the necessity of maintenance or the adoption of some additional new system of operation, can promptly devote the income of the road, or more, if necessary, to the betterment of the property for such purposes.

The disadvantages of the system are that it is not developed in the community solely with reference to politico-economic considerations or business considerations, but all other conditions are equally considered, to determine upon the development of any extension of the growth of the lines,—such as military considerations, or, as it might be in this country, political considerations favoring a particular locality or district. Besides, the development of the system is wholly conditioned and dependent upon the financial condition of the state, and, if any untoward circumstance happens to the state's finances, the development of important industrial transportation is checked and most injuriously affected. Of course there is also a great tendency to increase offices beyond an absolute necessity when the railways are in the hands of the state, and there is the *vis inertia* of state control, as against individual initiative, with reference to the adoption of improvements.

The political independence of a community which is made to rely upon the state for this great service, so essential to its welfare

and progress, is also somewhat impaired; and the personnel of railways is not so apt to be considerate of private interests when the holders of positions are wholly independent for continuance in office of the treatment meted out to the community. It has been demonstrated, however, that there is no gain in the cheapness of the service of transportation by its being in the hands of the state. It is claimed, and I believe with justice—indeed it seems to be indisputable—that the freight tariff rates for long distances in the United States are lower than they are anywhere else on the face of the earth; that economies in transportation have been carried to a higher degree of perfection, and though the general road-bed and superstructures are not as a whole as good in this country as they are in European countries, the traffic arrangements are, on the whole, vastly superior.

The mixed system, such as prevails in the Netherlands, has resulted in a controlling influence upon railways in private hands exceedingly oppressive to them. They are practically run in opposition to a system not dependent upon income for maintenance. In this way the mixed plan operates very much in regard to the private lines, as the rivalry of a bankrupt road does upon a solvent one. It has a tendency to drag the solvent road into insolvency, because the insolvent road, being emancipated for the time being from paying interest upon its bonds and dividends upon its stock, "runs wild" with reference to its freight rates and simply captures business where it can. Therefore, though publicists point with some degree of satisfaction to the lowering of the rates which the mixed system has produced in the countries of Europe where it has been introduced, the opinion of the railway officials of the private roads is almost unanimous that such a system becomes, in the end, intolerable and must either result in total ownership by the state, or in the total abandonment by the state of its railways, placing the leases of them in private hands.

If we come to the conclusion, as it seems to me is inevitable from what has preceded, that the ultimate taking over by the state of the railways is, so far as we are concerned, wholly to be abandoned, then the duty on the part of the state to exercise some degree of supervision of the management—and if some degree, what degree?—becomes a most pertinent and instructive inquiry. As a result of the entire absence of state control the whole state machinery was in some states of the Union under the domination of the railway interests, and it was with extreme difficulty that the most flagrant and manifest abuses could be rectified. For many years the State of New

York was in such a condition. The State of New Jersey was in such a condition, and even the State of Pennsylvania was not entirely free from a certain degree of domination by railway interests. In the newer states of the Union, particularly in our far western states, where values of many millions of dollars had been, through subsidies of large tracts of land, granted to the railways,—and many other millions of dollars had been subscribed by counties and towns, much of which was wasted and lost by reckless adventurers without producing to the communities a fair proportion of the mileage of the railways for which they had subscribed, and which they had subsidized,—a very bitter feeling was engendered against the people who had control of the railway enterprises, and the consequence was ill-considered, unwise, and dangerous legislation. The demagogue denounced this great useful instrumentality of commerce as though it were a tyrant, extracting by a process akin to taxation the values of the state and territory through which the tracks were operated, instead of being the instrumentality that gave value to the land and its product.

The abuses that were incident to the financial administration of the railways, and to the manipulation of the tariff rates in making local and personal discriminations, were seized upon as illustrations of the normal manifestation instead of the abuses of the system; and statute after statute was passed allowing arbitrary and inconsiderate interference with railways without due regard to the relation of the railway within a particular state or territory to the whole network of railways throughout the United States. This had to be undone, after evils almost as great as those that had been produced by the railway speculator and manager had been created in their turn by the demagogue and rural statesman.

Our American communities, one after another, had to learn the lesson "not to pour out the baby with the bath water;" and it was not until the enactment of the Interstate Commerce law, the inquiries preliminary thereto, and the organization of the Interstate Commerce Commission that a unital and intelligent system of control, based upon facts as well as upon theories, and preceded by a knowledge of some of the evils which were intended to be cured, received an intelligent and comprehensive effort at treatment.

In the first place, it was recognized that the ordinary courts of justice could not deal and were not in a position to deal with the questions of discrimination and unfair, local or individual preferences which had become one of the main elements of injustice and wrong practiced by the railways. Therefore, a

specially constituted tribunal was called into being, which, though not originally composed of experts, rapidly became so by exclusive devotion to the administration of one law. Its application of this law to the facts of the railway world had an educative influence upon the men themselves, who were called upon to administer the law, as to the points of view and the technical data which went to make up the railway charges, railway rates, and the elements that govern the question of rate making, either for the transportation of persons or of goods. That there crept into the law traces of the older legislative conditions, as, for instance, reliance upon competition to regulate rates, etc.—survivals of the Granger laws—is a matter which was to be expected.

The Interstate Commerce Act forbids, as rightly it should, all preferences under like circumstances and conditions in the rates to be charged for the transportation of persons and goods in the same direction from one part of the country to the other. It circumscribes and defines the field over which the Interstate Commerce law is to operate, gives to the Commissioners the power of investigation and determination, but unfortunately has left the enforcement of its findings to the ordinary judicial tribunals, which have claimed to themselves the right of an independent investigation with reference to the correctness of the findings of the Commission. This to so great an extent paralyzes the function and power of the Commission that at some near day an amendment to the law must be had to remedy this defect.

The law seeks to prevent any pooling, either directly or indirectly. This was a concession to the ultra-radical school of those who had unearthed evils as they existed prior to 1887, and who thought they saw in pooling an effort to maintain rates beyond what was fair, and therefore to extract from the community an unjust tax for the service of transportation. It has been ascertained, however, that the evils of uncertain, fluctuating, though low, rates of transportation are greater than those of higher and certain rates of transportation, and that a community can better afford to pay a high rate of taxation, provided the incidents and burdens of taxation are evenly distributed, than a comparatively lower rate with such incidents and burdens badly or unevenly distributed. Therefore many of those who have advocated this inhibition of pooling have been weaned by the experiences of the last eight years from their ideas on that subject, and there is now a general consensus of opinion that pooling under the supervision of the Commission, and subject to its consent,



should be permitted; but that it should not be done unless a schedule of rates, as well as the agreement to pool, and the changes that the pool will make in the rates are simultaneously submitted to the Commission when the contract to pool is submitted. There is also an inhibition in the act against charging more for the shorter than for the longer haul, with power to the Commission to suspend the operation of the act when good cause is shown. In some respects that clause will have to undergo some modification. This point is too involved, however, for a paper of this character, but it has become clear that the exigencies of commerce must, in due time, make the exception almost the rule, as to the observance of that part of the act; yet it is manifestly unjust to leave a territory which is absolutely under the control of a single railway—the railway's short haul being the local territory generally circumscribed by the lines of the state—to be taxed as the railway sees fit, in order to allow it to make up its losses incurred in railway wars, when it chooses to carry through long distances at ruinously low rates, by an extortionate charge to the local territory. A nice adjustment of this difficulty requires all the statesmanship and all the calmness and deliberation of which we are capable.

There comes next in order what has not as yet been attempted—some control of the financial affairs of the great railway corporations,—not a control of their finances in the sense of preventing issues of bonds and stocks and allowing their sale at whatever prices people are willing to pay, but to give some assurance that the affairs of the corporations are honestly managed. That can be done only by a system of public audits of the finances of railways. A step has already been taken in the right direction by the additional power given to the Interstate Commerce Commission, not only to make investigations of its own motion whenever it sees fit but to prescribe a unital form of railway accounts. When that shall be generally conformed to, and additional strength and power are given to the Interstate Commerce Commission, the next step will be to provide for a public audit of such accounts, which is essential to prevent scandals, and therefore losses, like those which have attended the administration of such properties as the Atchison and Reading Railroads.

Within the twenty-five years that I have been an active participant in the effort to eliminate the evils incident to the administration of the railways of the United States, an extraordinarily marked advance has been made for the better in such administration. Gross forms of personal and local discrimination are no longer possible. When I conducted on be-

half of the Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade of New York, in 1879, the investigation which is known as the work of the Hepburn Committee,—which sat for eight months and took testimony comprised in five huge volumes, which are probably to be found in your library, the local freight agent in the city of New York of New York's leading line of rail—the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad—admitted that there was no such thing as a tariff for the whole of the local freight carried over that line within the State of New York, when moved in larger quantities than single packages; that every rate was a special rate varying according to circumstances and conditions; and when I tried to probe what these circumstances and conditions were—whether there was any rule which governed the rates that were fixed—it was impossible for the freight agent to fix any such rule or to state the proposition in plain language. In other words, a man would get one rate one day for the transportation of goods from Rochester to New York; he would get another rate the next day; and his neighbor would get a different rate for the same goods, shipped under the same circumstances and at the same time. Of course the monstrous inequalities which arose from this condition of affairs—inequalities sufficiently great to make one man prosperous and drive his neighbor into bankruptcy—are altogether things of the past in the State of New York, and also, I venture to hope, throughout the United States.

In the same investigation it was discovered that a single flour mill at Niagara, during the extraordinary contest for freight between the various railway companies—which pulled down the freight rate on flour from Minneapolis to New York to ten cents a hundred—had continued to work, and ship its flour to New York from Niagara, when every other mill within the limits of the State of New York had been compelled, under the pressure of this competition, to close its doors. It was claimed that this Niagara mill had machinery equal to Minneapolis mills, while the other mills were antiquated concerns. Not satisfied with this explanation the probe of cross-examination disclosed a private contract which gave to the proprietors of that mill a pro rate of the Minneapolis rate, whatever it might be, and therefore enabled it to live, whilst every competitor under the same circumstances and conditions, and with equally good machine power, was compelled to close. That form of wrongdoing, let us hope, is also a thing of the past. State after state has passed laws against such discriminations, and the railways themselves have learned that that form of iniquity kept from the coffers of

the railway companies their proper earnings, as effectually as it sowed the seed of discontent and produced the nettle of disaster to the communities which were subjected to the discrimination. The forms of discrimination which, in the seeking for business on the part of the railways, made it cheaper for the New York merchant to send salt or merchandise by boats to Boston, and thence to retransport it to the West—Chicago or St. Paul—is also a thing of the past. The grosser forms of fraud by the treasury of railways, such as were incident to the history of Erie down to 1876, known as the Fiske-Gould period, I think cannot again be repeated. There is a stronger watchfulness on the part of the community and in some respects a higher sense of virtue on the part of the railway managers. Indeed, it is not surprising that the railway management in this country should have fallen short of meeting the highest standard of morality demanded by the importance and the immense values of the properties, when we realize the rapidity with which this vast interest has grown. At the close of the civil war, 30,000 miles of rail were in operation and, in 1895, 170,000 miles; at the close of the war, \$750,000,000, and in 1895, \$11,000,000,000 represented the total investment in the rail transportation industry. Where were the administrators to come from? We are in this respect placed in the position that the United States was in at the outbreak of the civil war with reference to finding generals for its armies.

The patriotism and volume of the population supplied the army with men. The difficulty was how, effectively, to lead them. And disaster after disaster befell our arms because the men of the North were not so militant in their education as the men of the South, and because for several years, and until the war itself developed them, there were not enough competent leaders to handle the men effectively. Most railway presidents and chairmen of boards come from the ranks of other professions, or from branches of employment in the railway, the business of which is wholly foreign to the financial administration of the road. The capacity, industry and knowledge required for the successful handling of the budgets of railway properties, which have a gross income ranging from \$12,000,000 to \$40,000,000, are as great as that required for the balancing of the expenditures and receipts of a nation. The aggregate annual income of the railways of the United States is close upon \$1,250,000,000; operating expenses vary from 64 to 80 per cent of the income; and upon the relative proportion of one to the other of these factors success or fail-

ure depends. That proportion is determined mainly by business and physical conditions, but also to a considerable degree by the capacity of the railway managers. Of the \$1,250,000,000, only between \$250,000,000 and \$350,000,000 are annually available for the payment of interest on bonds and dividends on stock. Whether the net earnings will suffice to meet the fixed charges, not to speak of dividends upon stock, is largely dependent (assuming honesty, of course, as a primary requisite) upon a profound knowledge of the internal administration of the railway, and the development of its earning power; and also, to a great degree, upon a prevision, akin to genius, of the condition of markets and crops, and of the general financial situation.

But where are all these gifted railway financiers to come from—full-grown, Minerva-like,—competent to administer the 175,000 miles of rail of the United States, and effectively and economically to handle the 800,000 men directly employed, and the 3,000,000 of people indirectly employed by the transportation companies of these United States? Independently of the almost impossible task of finding, in sufficient quantity, the extraordinary capacities for the proper financial management of so vast and so rapid an industrial growth as the railway interest, there are certain obvious and radical defects of organization of railways which expose them to special danger, and which cause railway enterprises to founder in very slight financial storms, through which other and smaller industrial enterprises float with safety, such as the fact that there is usually no reserve working capital.

The practical result, to which I desire to draw your attention and to which my experience and study have led me, is that we are diverted from any true and useful purpose in listening to the suggestions of ultimate ownership of the railways by the state; that the example of other countries which commenced to acquire, or, in the early history of their development, acquired such ownership, is of no avail to us, because we are called upon to deal with a thing too vast for governmental control, and particularly too vast for the control of a government like that of the United States, with no permanent bureaucracy, and with the whole scheme of government antagonistic to the ownership or direct exploitation of any such enterprise. State commissions have done some good, but on the whole they have created some mischief of their own, and any further development in that direction, except that of mere supervision and some perpetual system of inquiry into the administration of the railway so as to insure publicity, is of little permanent value. The true



development of governmental control lies in the direction of strengthening the Interstate Commerce Commission as a tribunal, and giving to it greater freedom of action to relieve the railways from the burdensome restraints against pooling, and to relax somewhat the rigidity of the rule of the long and short haul clause. We must be just to the commercial necessities of the community, but we must also put under foot the effort to use those commercial necessities for personal and local ends, and with the view of creating a discrimination for the benefit of A at the expense of B. We must never forget, in dealing with the railway interest, that its prosperity is necessary not only because it is by far the largest bag in which the past earnings and savings of our whole community are invested but because we require its further development. We must not forget that immense as has been the progress and general advancement of the great railway net of the United States—perhaps a little ahead of the wants of the period—there are still many parts of our country unsupplied with this instrumentality of commerce. We must leave it sufficient vitality and earning power to induce further and continuous investment in railway enterprises, and that we must keep them open as a field for the investment of the surplus earnings, not only of the people of this country, but of those of other nations. A want of confidence has been engendered in the minds of the investor both at home and abroad, in this class of investment, from two causes: one is the apprehension of demagogic legislation in the United States and the other is the fear (and this is still more potent) of the wrecking of the railway by dishonest and incompetent managers. Conservative and wise legislation will, on the one hand, reinstate the confidence of the investor, whilst on the other a guard will be placed against the dishonest and reckless manager by the strengthening instead of weakening the Interstate Commerce tribunal, the publicity of all railway accounts, and the insistence upon an independent official audit of such accounts through officially responsible and independent accountants.

SIMON STERNE.

*New York City.*

"There can be no very black melancholy to him who lives in the midst of nature and has his senses still."—*Thoreau.*

"Shall a man go and hang himself because he belongs to the race of pigmies, and not be the biggest pigmy that he can? Let everyone mind his own business, and endeavor to be what he was made."—*Thoreau.*

## Books.

LI HUNG-CHANG. By Professor R. K. Douglas. New York: Frederick Warne & Co.

There has never been a time when it was so necessary for the West to understand the East—the far East—as it is to-day. And yet we see very little effort made to bring about such a desirable state of things. Cosmopolitanism, though occasionally praised, is not really popular, and it is safe to say that no man is so unfairly dealt with as John Chinaman, no country so constantly misrepresented as China.

A lady once asked the writer, "Why is it that we Americans dislike the Chinese so much? There must be some reason for it." My reply was, "It is a law of our human nature that we always dislike a person we have injured. The Chinese have been unjustly, cruelly treated in America, and now they are despised here. It is on the same principle that a debtor usually endeavors to persuade himself that his creditor richly deserves to lose every cent he has lent—and more." Strange to say, my philosophy seemed entirely unappreciated!

Professor Douglas belongs to the English political school which first inflicted great injury on China, and then labored to prove that, even if the Chinese were right in opposing the opium traffic, they had other iniquities which merited retribution.

So far then, the author of this book is not in a favorable position to judge Li Hung-Chang, or any other Chinaman, with strict impartiality. His work on "Society in China" contains abundant evidence on this point. Professor Douglas has no sympathy with the Chinese, and hence in his writings he has usually made their country, language, literature, religious institutions and social customs to appear in the poorest possible light. He has not a spark of admiration for Li Hung-Chang—in fact, despises him. This is a serious disqualification in a biographer, but it may render his book more acceptable to the public, for it is the fashion now to depreciate the Chinese. Defeat, even when it is honorable, is unpopular, while success, though attained by unworthy means, usually wins loud, if transient, applause from the "shallow millions."

On the other hand Professor Douglas has lived in China and read Chinese literature. He has paid special attention to the history of the great Tai Ping rebellion. That was a most eventful period, and if all the desperate struggles, and almost unparalleled miseries

resulting from them, could be adequately described, it would make a thrilling story. The last half century of China's history has perhaps been the most important she has passed through, and it has not received a fraction of the attention it deserves. This momentous period Professor Douglas has carefully studied. He saw China when it was almost entirely closed to foreign intercourse, and has watched the gradual opening up of this vast country to Occidental enterprise—commercial, educational, religious. Hence we have presented to us in this volume a great deal of most interesting and valuable information on many weighty questions, as well as an able presentation of almost all that can at present be known of China's ablest modern statesman. And though this sketch fails to do full justice to the splendid literary attainments of the Viceroy Li, it furnishes abundant evidence of his untiring industry, administrative capacity and patriotism. Those who discourse with such fluent ignorance concerning the lack of ability manifested by the poor emigrant from Canton—who does his work quietly and well and curses no one—should read Professor Douglas's book and give themselves a chance to discover that there is still some real talent left in much-abused Cathay.

Several good books on China have been published within the last two years, but the ideal writer on this land, its people, and history, has not yet appeared. When he does, and unites critical perception, rigid impartiality and accuracy with a lucid, attractive literary style, he will receive a warm welcome from all friends of China—and of humanity. Meanwhile, Professor Douglas has done a good work in giving us such a valuable account of the life of one who has more claim than any other of his countrymen to the designation "China's Grand Old Man."

F. HUBERTY JAMES.

THE KEY OF THE PACIFIC, THE NICARAGUA CANAL. With numerous illustrations, plans and maps. Pp. xvii, 443. By Archibald Ross Colquhoun. London; Archibald, Constable & Co.; New York; Longmans, Green & Co., 1895.

Some books are valuable because of high intrinsic merit, and others derive their worth from the importance of the subject which they treat. A book that makes but a moderate contribution to the discussion of a question of the first rank is sure to be welcomed. "The Key of the Pacific" is decidedly of this latter class; it will do little if anything to solve the technical or political difficulties which confront the engi-

neers, capitalists, and legislators who are interested in the promotion of the construction of the Nicaragua Canal, but it will do much to educate the public at large in regard to the enterprise in its various aspects. There is no new source of light, but a wider diffusion is given to the light proceeding from existing sources.

Five of the fourteen chapters of Mr. Colquhoun's book are devoted to a description of the proposed canal route and to a historical sketch of previous attempts to secure a trans-isthmian waterway. Two chapters discuss the engineering problems. The historical sketch is meagre. As Professor L. M. Keasbey, the best student of the canal's history, has remarked in a recent review in the 'Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science': "There are so many important omissions that the historical aspects of the question are practically not considered at all." The discussion of the engineering problems is of but little value. Mr. Colquhoun approves of nearly all the plans of the Maritime Canal Company, although he raises the estimate of the cost of construction 50 per cent. When the book was written, the report of the three commissioners appointed last year by the United States Government to inspect and report on the canal project had not been made. It is in this commission's report and in the discussion of the same before the House Committee on Foreign and Interstate Commerce that a critical estimate of the engineering problems involved in the construction of the canal is to be found.

The best part of 'The Key of the Pacific' is in Chapters VIII to XI, where the social conditions, physical geography, and natural resources of Nicaragua are well treated. Nicaragua is a country with richer natural resources than most people are led to think. The local traffic of the completed canal will be an appreciable part of its total business. Nicaragua will experience a complete revolution industrially.

The closing chapters of the book briefly discuss the economic and political utility of ship canals generally at the present time, and consider especially the value and probable effects of the Nicaragua Canal. The style of treatment is that of newspaper writing rather than that of a serious political and economic discussion, but the chapters, nevertheless, are worth perusal, because they present the views of an intelligent Englishman regarding the political aspects of the construction of the canal and because they show how the English expect their commerce will be affected. After reviewing the political situation the author approves of the construction

of the canal by the United States, but believes that the use of the canal should by international treaties be guaranteed to all nations at all times. He says: "The true policy of the United States, as well as of all other nations, is to neutralize it (the canal) by a general agreement that its use shall never be obstructed, either in war or in peace, and that it shall never be made the object or the theatre of hostilities."

With the general conclusions with which the author closes his book everyone who has impartially studied the Nicaragua Canal question will agree. "I believe," says Mr. Colquhoun, "that the canal can be made, and that long hindered by political difficulties alone, it will now be carried out under the auspices of the United States Government. The canal is a necessity of the age, and were the cost double what I estimate it to be, the immense benefits certain to result would amply justify its execution. It will bind together the remote sections of that immense country, assimilate its diverse interests, go far toward solving many difficult problems and make the United States more united." The author's last sentence is that the canal "will, taken in connection with the vast changes occurring in the Far East, bring about the most serious rivalry to the commercial supremacy of Great Britain which she has yet had to encounter."

The past few months have advanced the canal project more than is generally supposed. The report made by the three United States Commissioners was critical and suggested several changes in the details of the plans agreed upon by the company that has begun the execution of the work. The report, however, nowhere questions the feasibility of the work; the modifications proposed are important, but are those changing the details of the work rather than the fundamental principles upon which the execution of the enterprise is to be carried out. The Commission raises the estimate of costs to nearly double that of the canal company. The company has always claimed that the contracts for the execution of the work would call for \$66,466,880, and allowing liberally for contingencies and interest charges they estimate that the canal can be built for \$100,000,000. The estimate which Mr. Colquhoun makes is rather a guess than a careful calculation. He is "inclined to think that £30,000,000 in genuine expenditure will be found nearer the mark." The provisional estimate made by the United States Commissioners is \$133,472,893 exclusive of interest charges. The board thus nearly doubles the estimates of the canal company. It is to be noted, however, that a considerable portion of this increase is due to

changes and enlargements in the plans of the company—modifications which its officers contend are unnecessary.

The report of the board shows conclusively that existing data concerning several of the engineering problems are inadequate, and it recommends Congress to obtain fuller information before entering upon the execution of the work. The board says, "For obtaining the necessary data for the formation of a final project, eighteen months time, covering two dry seasons and an expenditure of \$350,000, will be required." The House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce did not act on the suggestion of the commission, but introduced a bill directing the United States to embark forthwith upon the enterprise. Without doubt the canal must be constructed by the funds of the United States, but every friend of the canal ought to desire that the beginning of the work be postponed until the data obtained are made as complete as possible. Let us hope that when the United States constructs the canal we shall see repeated the experience of Germany which succeeded in completing the Baltic Canal without exceeding the estimates of cost.

No one need feel pessimistic concerning the Nicaragua Canal. It will surely come, and when it does come it will be a great benefit to the people of the United States. Possibly one of the most valuable services it can perform will be to harmonize the economic interests of the eastern and western parts of the United States, and thus to hasten the establishment of political harmony and good feeling, the certain accompaniments of similarity in the ways of viewing social, industrial and monetary problems.

EMORY R. JOHNSON.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY: AN ANALYSIS OF THE PHENOMENA OF ASSOCIATION AND OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. By Franklin Henry Giddings. Pp. vii, 476. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1896.

All students learn sooner or later that research inevitably leads the investigator into the realms of general sociology and metaphysics. They soon begin to feel and then to perceive that in order satisfactorily to understand the phenomena with which they begin their studies or in which they are especially interested they must know the causes, laws, principles and effects of multifarious phenomena related immediately and remotely to the facts to which they are giving particular attention. Especially is this true in regard to the studies relating to man and human society. The student of law, of politics, of religion, of

institutions, cannot know the nature and laws of these great departments of social life and activity unless he understands their relations to all others. The most significant fact in the scholastic and scientific research of the last fifty years has been the realization of the interrelation and interdependence of the sciences or of the facts which the sciences explain. A striking proof of this is the scholarly and substantial treatise on Sociology, by Professor Giddings. He began his scholastic work as a student of economics, of value, and of the laws of production and distribution; he has become a sociologist.

It is impossible in this brief space to do more than indicate the nature and character of his valuable addition to our sociological literature. Rumors of its forthcoming have been abroad for several years, and expectations have naturally been great. The years of preparation have resulted in a work that is notably characterized by that finish and compact, clear statement that comes only after careful study, rigid and prolonged reasoning, and with the utmost regard for accuracy. Here and there the literary polish gives one the delight that we expect as a rule to obtain only in *belles-lettres*. The necessities of scientific exposition have caused the use of terms that will detract somewhat from the ease and pleasure in reading of those but little familiar with scientific sociology.

Professor Giddings does not believe that the time has come for an exhaustive treatise on sociology; but the results of the great activity of recent years in collecting and classifying sociological data have enabled students to discern social laws and to distinguish and measure social forces; and in this volume he attempts to formulate the general principles and give them a logical organization. He treats the subject in four books: Book I, 'The Elements of Social Theory,' contains a discussion of the Sociological Idea, the Province of Sociology, its Methods and Problems; Book II deals with the 'Elements and Structure of Society;' Book III gives us an account of 'The Historical Evolution of Society,' and Book IV presents 'The Social Process, Law and Cause.' Sociology he conceives to be a psychological science. It deals with human society; and the fundamental fact in society is "*the consciousness of kind*," that is "a state of consciousness in which any being, whether low or high in the scale of life, recognizes another conscious being as of like kind with itself" (p. 17). Upon this elemental fact rest all the complex and heterogeneous relationships of association and organization formed by men which it is the business of the sociologist to describe and classify. Mr. Her-

bert Spencer and his followers have put, according to Professor Giddings, too much stress upon the physical and biological elements, thereby narrowing sociology and leaving out of account or at least minimizing the importance of the psychical factors in social life. The nature and conditions of mere physical environment and the facts of biology as seen in the propagation and preservation of human life are fundamental, but they constitute but a small part of the phenomena dealt with by sociology. It is impossible, he declares, to understand by means of biology alone the causes of the social and ethnical groupings of people, of the development of countless associations and affiliations that exert such a constant and tremendous influence upon mankind. We can learn the origin, nature, and condition of these only by knowing the psychology of man as he lives and acts in relation to his fellows.

Sociologists who follow Mr. Spencer will probably deny that Professor Giddings has really added much to Spencerian sociology. He has collected and skillfully classified a great amount of new illustrative material; and he has given us a lucid and luminous treatise. But most students of Spencer will be able to point out parallel passages in his Synthetic Philosophy that show that he realizes the immense influence of psychic factors and phenomena upon social, political, economic, and religious life and institutions. Critical readers of this volume will perceive too that not infrequently the discussion or presentation is simply a description of what *is now* and not an analysis of the origin and causes of growth and of the necessary development and relations which an institution must have to its constituent elements. In dealing with the state he declares that the sociologist is concerned simply with its present forms and activities and not with what it ought to be or ought not to be (p. 177). But how one can completely describe and analyze an institution without showing what its nature is and what its *necessary* relations are to the people making up the greater part of it, is a question of considerable interest. Indeed, he contradicts his own dictum on a succeeding page (179), when he affirms that "not less inevitable is it that states should assume cultural functions." Again the mere description of the multitudinous phenomena of social activity and institutional life does not give us the rationale of progress and of harmonious social relationships; it does not give us a philosophy of things that affords us light and guidance in dealing with the specific or general problems of society.

FRANK IRVING HERRIOTT.

Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia.



A HISTORY OF MODERN BANKS OF ISSUE, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE ECONOMIC CRISES OF THE PRESENT CENTURY. By Charles A. Conant. Pp. xiii, 595. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1896.

Not the least of the many plagues, resulting from the crisis of 1893, was the mushroom growth of pseudo-financial literature. Fortunately these fungi have had their day, and economic fruits of a deeper root and a more mature growth are now ministering to the appetite which their ephemeral predecessors vainly tried to appease. We have recently had, largely as the result of our depressed industrial condition, several financial works of sterling merit. To these must be added Mr. Conant's 'History of Banks of Issue.' The title affixed to the book accurately indicates the scope of the treatise. After an introductory chapter on the Theory of a Banking Currency (where the author adopts substantially the current orthodox view of free banking with note issue based on general assets), the history of banks of issue in various nations is taken up in chronological order. The review of banking systems is exhaustive. Not only the western world but the Orient and the islands of the sea are made to yield up their banking biography. Interspersed in this historical review are frequent illuminating comments on the philosophy of banking, most of which are focused in the final chapter entitled 'The Advantages of a Banking Currency.' The practical conclusion which Mr. Conant draws is that "*the currency of a commercial country should be regulated by commercial conditions and not by the whims of politicians,*"—a truth which, even when encased in our author's italics, will seemingly never make its way into the benighted mind of King Demos.

Characteristic of the whole work are its comprehensiveness and its careful elaboration of material. Its scope is almost encyclopædic in the domain of banking, the judicious selection of statistics is excellent, and the uniformity with which they have been brought down to date, often giving the figures for the current year, is little short of bewildering. Evidently Washington, with its wealth of statistical and official data, is a good place to compile such a treatise as this.

If any criticism were to be made upon the manner of handling the subject, it might be said that Mr. Conant is sometimes so intent upon the anatomy of banking as to give us less than the full philosophical significance of banking functions. He conscientiously records changes in the capital stock of banks, but passes over for instance the recent remodeling of the Swiss banking system with

scarcely a word of explanation or comment. This is the more remarkable as we are given to understand that the displaced system was safe and serviceable. He follows his facts so closely that he sometimes forgets to re-survey them in perspective.

The philosophy of banking proper embraces much more than a mere statement of the theory of a banking currency and the advantages of such a currency. Such facts as the empirical discovery of almost all the laws of sound banking, the general failure in practice of *a priori* theories of banking, the almost invariable historical process by which the function of issue antedates and paves the way for deposit banking,—these need to be unified in a theory of banking more comprehensive and more philosophical than Mr. Conant or any one else, so far as I know, has as yet given us.

The history of this century's crises occupies the latter fifth of the book and is admirably done. Especially thorough and impartial is the delineation of the causes of the recent crisis. The professional economist in reading the book will sometimes be annoyed by an elliptical statement which Mr. Conant employs. Thus, where it is said (p. 19) that money and capital pay smaller percentages of profit than other commodities, one may fairly doubt whether the annual rate and the rate "on the turnover" are not confounded. Where the author naively yields to MacLeod that the latter's theory of credit is true in the domain of mathematics and law (p. 9) but not valid in the domain of economics, one is disposed to ask with Nicodemus "How can these things be?" When was economics made independent of mathematical truth? If this were the only answer that could be made to MacLeod, we should be in a sorry plight indeed. When Mr. Conant states (p. 463) that in a commercial crisis "accumulated capital suffers much more than productive industry, and the result is to transfer the interest on such accumulations and a part of the principal to labor;" and that "even laborers who are thrown out of employment cannot suffer any such loss in a modern civilized state as is suffered by capital," one feels disposed to demand more cogent proof than we are here afforded. Indeed the author contents himself frequently with a plausible *prima facie* statement of fact which is well enough for those who are content with *axiomata media*, but which fails sometimes to go to the root of the matter.

The style in which the book is written is clear and direct. There is nothing attempted but a plain unvarnished tale. It requires genius to invest banking with much general

interest. No one besides Adam Smith and Walter Bagehot has succeeded in doing this, and Mr. Conant has wisely not attempted to rival these masters. He has availed himself of their writings, however, and of most of the standard English and French works on banking. German works have contributed less to this meritorious history. An excellent index and a full bibliography are appended.

W. M. DANIELS.

Princeton, N. J.

### Book Notes.

The 'Wessex Tales,' by Thomas Hardy, consists of a collection of short stories, which have been written at intervals between 1879 and 1893 and are now published in book form by Harper Brothers. As the title indicates, the scene of the tales is laid in Wessex and the characters are the common folk of England. Mr. Hardy succeeds much better in drawing a character than in constructing a plot; 'An Imaginative Woman' is a good illustration. It is a story in which an unhealthy morbid constitution induces "a physical possibility . . . that is well supported by the experiences of medical men," but which does not add to the volume of our wholesome literature. 'The Withered Arm' is based on a physical ailment, the impossible result of external mental influence,—in this case the hatred of a woman withering the arm of her unwitting rival. In such an instance too great liberty is taken with the supernatural elements. The supernatural is quite proper as an agent in the working out of a plot, so long as the belief in it is the peculiar mental quality of the characters which gives reality to the unreal, but when it takes the place of purely natural causes it usurps its function. Mr. Hardy treats the lives of his characters very recklessly. Whenever he has made his situation so difficult that the reader sees no solution of the problem, he surprises his more compassionate readers by slaying the obstructing characters, and so cutting the Gordian knot. There is a very accommodating providence, who does this duty for Mr. Hardy in 'Interlopers at the Knap' and 'Fellow Townsmen.' Probably the best of these stories is 'The Distracted Preacher,' which is full of action and real human interest. The two main characters are well drawn and the plot is worked out to an artistic denouement.

Gilbert Parker's new book of short stories, 'An Adventurer of the North,' deals with conditions of life and adventure in the north of Canada, in the treatment of which the author has already won golden opinions. The stories are remarkably well told. The central hero, the French Canadian Pierre, is a fine figure and is admirably drawn in the various scenes in which he appears. The other characters are not mere lay figures to suit the central hero's convenience, but they have each a distinct personality and play their parts as true men and women. Perhaps we should be chiefly grateful to Mr. Parker for his fine pictures of the great North. We are brought into close touch with the very heart of nature, the immensity of the expanse of land and sky, the limpid freshness of lake and river, and the lonely grandeur of the plains. Human nature in its roughness and tenderness is shown in such harmony with the wild beauty of the landscape that the author is revealed as an artist in the management of the action and in its setting. The tales are heartfelt, and full of freshness and vigor.

From the publishers, Longmans, Green & Co., we have received copies of Longmans' English Classics. The series is under the editorial management of George Rice Carpenter, A. B., Professor of Rhetoric and English Composition in Columbia College; the separate volumes are prepared by the leading teachers of rhetoric in America. In addition to a careful text, each volume contains full notes, an introduction, the requisite bibliography, and other explanatory matter. The series is the direct growth of the report of the National Committee of Ten, in that it has been prepared for the uniform entrance requirements in English, now adopted by the leading American colleges. Edwin L. Miller, A. M., edits Robert Southey's 'Life of Nelson,' and Mary A. Jordan, A. M., Oliver Goldsmith's 'Vicar of Wakefield.' The first two books of Milton's 'Paradise Lost,' are edited by E. E. Hale, Jr., Ph. D., with introduction, notes, and appendices, considerably longer than the text. D. O. S. Lowell is editor of the 'Sir Roger de Coverley Papers,' and H. G. Buehler, A. M., of Macaulay's 'Life of Samuel Johnson.' The typographical work, the print, the paper, and the binding are all good.

'The Golden Age,' by Kennett Graham (Stone & Kimball) is a book of stories about children but not for children. It would be a precocious child that could understand and appreciate the delicate literary qualities of the tales, which are scarcely tales at all but reminiscences of the misty golden days of childhood, the slow awakening to consciousness of the human soul. The style is quaintly simple and poetic.

Three essays on our differences with England, written respectively by David A. Wells, Edward J. Phelps, and Carl Shurz, have been gathered into a volume and published by Putnam under the title of 'America and Europe.' The book, though little more than a reprint, deserves circulation, because it contains thoughtful essays upon questions of vital importance, and asks that these questions be dealt with in a sane manner and not in a spirit of prejudice and blind hatred. The authors are too well known to need any introduction, and it may simply be added that their patriotism is not of the jingo kind.

'Sir Mark,' by Anna Robeson Brown, is one more addition to the considerable number of romantic stories which derive their plots from the early history of America, a period so rich in romantic adventure that it is strange that our native authors have been so tardy in drawing upon it. Aside from the intrinsic interest and literary form, 'Sir Mark' will be interesting to Philadelphians because it deals with Colonial life in the Quaker City. D. Appleton & Co.

The Treasury Department has issued, under the date of July 1, Circular No. 123, containing information respecting United States bonds, paper currency, coin, production of precious metals, etc. This official statement has been made as a response to the great number of questions that have poured in upon the Treasury Department in consequence of the present political agitation.

A popular edition of Mr. Horace White's 'Money and Banking,' has just been issued at a low price by Ginn & Co., Boston. In view of the discussion of the monetary platforms of the political parties the chapters on money will be read with more than usual interest.



## University Extension News and Announcements.

A detailed statement of the Lecture Courses for the coming winter has recently been issued. This pamphlet contains a list of the lectures, the subjects of their courses, and the included lectures. The lecturers are, in addition to Mr. Wallas and Mr. Belloc of England, professors in our best colleges and universities, or persons who are qualified to speak upon these subjects though not academically connected. The range of topics in the courses is extended. Art and aesthetics, literature, music, history and biography, civics and economics, sociology, philosophy and psychology, biology, chemistry and physics, mathematics and astronomy are some of the courses which are offered. With this range of topics and its able staff lecturers, the American Society is confident that it offers courses equal in attractiveness and profit to any that have hitherto been given. Each course consists ordinarily of six lectures, for which the fee usually paid to the Society by the local centre is \$130 and the traveling and hotel expenses of the lecturer. Centres should signify their choice of lecturers to the Society's headquarters as soon as possible.

Mr. W. H. Goodyear introduces his syllabus on 'The Debt of the Nineteenth Century to Egypt,' with a valuable preface on the purpose and significance of the course. The art forms, as an approach to a philosophical interpretation of the facts of history and as a basis for study along the whole course of civilization, are essential to an intelligent understanding of the course of history in every nation, and especially in such a nation as Egypt where these art forms are so abundant.

The 'general remarks on the recommended books' are adapted to the wants of all students. Such an account is given of each authority as will guide both the serious investigator and the general reader. The course is summarized by Mr. Goodyear as follows: "The lecture topics open with a purely matter-of-fact account and illustration of modern Egypt and of its monuments, viewed from the local or tourist's point of view. The second topic is an effort to vitalize the general subject by an account of the discoveries, excavations and researches of those great moderns who have brought us face to face with a remote past. The aim of the third lecture is to illuminate those features of Egyptian life which have palpably survived throughout all later history. This will apply to the technical and industrial arts of the nineteenth century. Two lectures are then devoted to the pyramids, temple ruins, and other monuments from the standpoint of chronologic sequence and historic significance inside the limits of Egyptian history. The sixth lecture returns to the point of view which looks to the importance and influence of Egypt for later history—seeking in the most familiar patterns and decorations of modern life the survival and reminder of the oldest religion and the oldest superstitions definitely known to history." After the sketch of each lecture Mr. Goodyear gives the principal authorities for reading, illustrating the points brought out in the lecture, and topics for papers, which afford special subjects for private study.

Mr. W. H. Goodyear's syllabus of his course of twelve lectures on 'Italian Art and Paintings of the Old Masters' has just been published by the American Society. The early Christian art of the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, technically a continuation of late pagan Roman art, is the subject of the first lecture; and this art, transferred with the capital of the Roman Empire to Constantinople, is considered in the second lecture under the name of 'The Byzantine Mosaics.' The old masters of the fourteenth century forsook the foreign

mosaics for fresco, which then became a phase of national soul-assertion. The third lecture deals with this change and the essential features of fresco. The 'Dawn of Renaissance Sculpture,' treated in the fourth lecture, was first seen in the coast cities of Southern Italy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; and the 'Dawn of Renaissance Painting,' discussed in the next lecture, proclaimed the brilliancy of the sixteenth century, the subject of the sixth and seventh lectures. 'Raphael's Frescoes' and 'Michael Angelo' are treated in the next two lectures. 'Italian, Spanish and Flemish Artists of the Seventeenth Century' Mr. Goodyear considers in his tenth lecture, and in his eleventh he contrasts typical religious pictures of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. 'The Dutch School' closes the course.

Topics for papers, special reading references, and a bibliographical introduction serve as a guide to independent study along the lines of the lecture.

'The Debt of the Nineteenth Century to Rome' is the somewhat misleading title of Mr. W. H. Goodyear's six lectures before the Summer Meeting, but, as anyone may see from the syllabus recently issued, the subject is treated from the point of view of plastic art. A bibliography, with a running comment, gives the student an adequate idea of the best books, and some apt suggestions are made as to methods of reading. The topics are treated chronologically, beginning with the early art of Italy, running through the later art as illustrated in the monuments of Pompeii, of Rome and the provinces, and the East Jordan country, and ending with the art of the Roman decadence and early Christian Rome. Topics for papers, especially designed to meet the needs of students who intend to give more careful attention to the subject, are added after the syllabus of each lecture.

The syllabus of Dr. Atwater's lectures before the Summer Meeting, on the 'Chemistry and Economy of Food and Nutrition,' contains detailed *resumés* of the separate lectures. The chemical composition of food, its uses in nutrition, its potential energy and digestibility, are treated in the first lecture, and in the second cooking as a means of making food more digestible and nutritive. The third lecture deals with the hygienic economy of food and its relation to work, and the fourth with the pecuniary economy of food. The last lecture emphasizes the importance of the study of the economy of food in the schools and the need of public information on the subject. The principal articles for reference, largely from the pen of Dr. Atwater, are given in the prefatory remarks of the syllabus.

Mr. Hilaire Belloc's object in his course of six lectures on the French Revolution, of which the syllabus has appeared, is to trace the constructive work of that great movement. The first lecture gives a sketch of the government and society of France in the last century, and the second of the France of to-day. The political theory of the Revolution, as embodied in the 'Contrat Social' of Rousseau, forms the subject of the third lecture, and this theory as a constructive force, under the headings of 'The Revolution in Action' and 'The Wars of the Revolution,' is treated in the remaining lectures. Appended to the syllabus of each lecture is a list of the principal authorities.

Mr. Goodyear, lecturer of the society on art subjects, has received and accepted an invitation to be the guest of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and to present results of his recent discoveries in mediæval architecture at a general meeting of the Association to be held in September at Liverpool.

At the July meeting of the Board of Directors, Dr. S. M. Lindsay, Assistant Professor of Sociology in the University of Pennsylvania, was put upon the lecture list. He offers a course of six lectures on the Social Movements of the Nineteenth Century. The subjects of his lectures are 'Early French Socialism,' 'Chartism and Factory Legislation in England,' 'Rise of Social Democracy in Germany,' 'Charity Organization Movement and Modern Charity Problems,' 'Social Settlements and Modern Preventive Work,' and 'Labor Insurance against Accident, Sickness, and Non-employment.'

Mr. T. W. Surette has just published his syllabus on 'The Development of Music.' The first lecture treats of sixteenth and seventeenth century music, which consisted mostly of dance tunes and folk songs. The influence of the Church in regard to music is dwelt upon. In the second lecture Mr. Surette takes up the work of Bach and Handel, and considers the Italian opera and the oratorio. Scarlatti, Emmanuel Bach, and Haydn form the subject of the third lecture, and Mozart of the fourth. The remaining two lectures treat of Beethoven, of his work in the sonata and symphony, the scherzo, the minuet, and the rondo. Appended to each lecture are questions intended to stimulate further investigation; a short preface gives an idea of the purpose and scope of the course.

The Kensington centre has all summer maintained with interest a class in review of Mr. W. H. Shaw's course in Elizabethan history. On one of the hot days of the first week of August, a proposal to adjourn for a month was voted down by a majority of twelve to one.

Mr. Stockton Axson, who, during the past year has edited THE CITIZEN, has accepted the professorship of English in Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. Mr. Axson still continues his connection with the American Society as a lecturer in English literature and as a contributor to THE CITIZEN.

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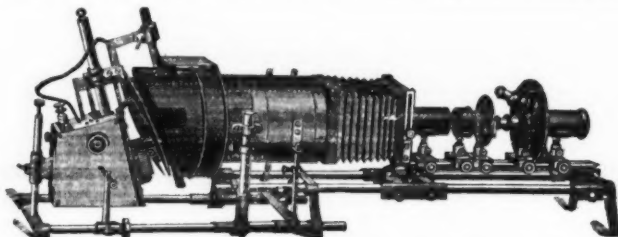
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